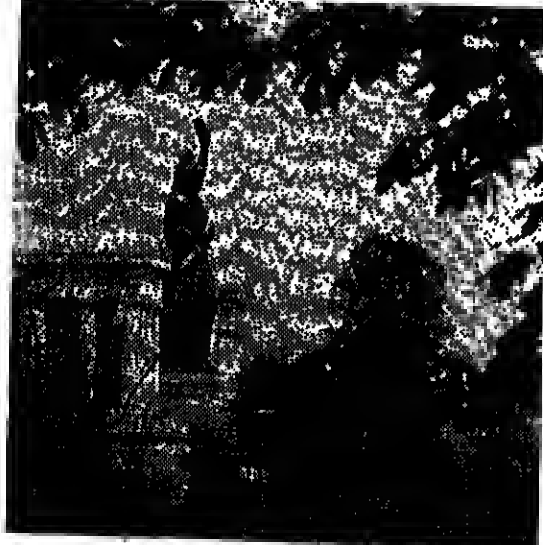




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The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

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Hamburg, 6 May 1971
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Bonn's Ostpolitik dangles unhappily in the air

Handelsblatt

Bonn is going to have to view its Ostpolitik as a longer-term strategy. It was anticipated after the conclusion of the Moscow and Warsaw treaties. The delay does, however, provide us with an opportunity of reappraising the line of policy towards the Eastern Bloc and taking possible consequences into account.

Intermediate stock-taking of this kind does not, on the other hand, necessarily mean that the Brandt/Scheel administration's Ostpolitik has proved a mistake from the word go.

A leading Cabinet Minister, Helmut Schmidt, recently, talked in terms of a policy hanging by a thread. Even though it may not be fully shared by the Bonn government this view is nonetheless accurate.

It gives the lie to Chancellor Brandt's encouraging words about positive aspects of the Soviet paper on Berlin and the optimistic comments of Foreign Minister Scheel to the effect that a satisfactory Berlin settlement may yet transpire before the year is out.

At the moment painting the situation in glowing colours is inappropriate whilst the motives. The sober truth is that Ostpolitik is in the process of stagnating. From this three questions follow: What signs of stagnation are in evidence? What reasons indicate that the Kremlin's attitude has grown less open to compromise and might not Moscow have been expected to be unyielding last year? Last year the Federal government in Bonn had every reason for assuming that the Soviet Union would do something about Berlin after the signing of the two treaties with Eastern Bloc countries. Then came December and the Polish

but there can be no escaping the fact that Moscow's aims in the Four-Power talks are a far cry from those of the West.

An assessment of the Soviet Berlin paper, which was recently published in extracts in the Polish newspaper *Zycie Warszawy*, clearly reveals three goals that the Kremlin will be bent on achieving at the talks.

The first is general rejection of a Federal presence in Berlin (Bundestag sessions in the old Reichstag building and offices of Bonn government agencies in the Western half of the city).

The alternative proposed by the Soviet Union is the appointment of a Federal government representative in West Berlin, an envoy whose credentials will first be vetted by the Four Powers.

The second goal is establishment of West Berlin as a separate political entity and the third recognition of the GDR.

The Soviet Union has probably leaked its views in order to counter the impression that it may simply be stonewalling on Berlin without having any real intention of reaching agreement.

Moscow can now hardly be expected to revise its own point of view completely so as to reach agreement with the three Western powers either, for that matter.

In all probability both sides will have to back down on one point or another of their declared aims if agreement is to be reached at all on Berlin. The search for a solution will thus self-evidently be tough and more protracted.

What reasons indicate that the Kremlin's attitude has grown less open to compromise and might not Moscow have been expected to be unyielding last year? Last year the Federal government in Bonn had every reason for assuming that the Soviet Union would do something about Berlin after the signing of the two treaties with Eastern Bloc countries. Then came December and the Polish



Fair view

A view of the Hanover Fair site at which 5,768 exhibitors from 33 nations have taken stands. The Fair was opened on 22 April by Economic Affairs Minister Karl Schiller. (Photo: dpa)

unrest and a matter of months later it is clear that this open unrest is having far greater repercussions in the East, particularly for Communist leaders, than could have been imagined in the West.

Since the beginning of this year, the Kremlin has reverted to a tougher line towards the West and this country was of course the first to feel the cooler gusts.

It is doubtful that the Kremlin is the sole driving force behind this change. The Polish unrest added fuel to the fire of East Berlin's ambitions to prevent the Eastern Bloc from establishing more cordial relations with the West.

For years the GDR has been at the forefront of détente in Europe and the Moscow and Warsaw treaties must have been a bitter disappointment for East Berlin, particularly as they disregarded many of its demands.

A tricky situation such as ensued all over the Eastern Bloc as a result of the Polish unrest was bound to be glib to the mind of politicians in East Berlin who have always wanted to set themselves off from the West yet are not prepared to deal with the Federal government until full diplomatic relations have been established by Bonn.

The GDR now clearly proposes with the aid of a Soviet Union, "enlightened" and worried by the course of events in Poland, to achieve aims unfulfilled in the Moscow and Warsaw treaties by means of the Berlin talks.

East Berlin, then, is bringing influence to bear on Soviet tactics. At the same time Soviet foreign policy has again proved to be bloc policy. The Soviet Union revises its approach every time.

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CDU win Schleswig-Holstein state election

Schleswig-Holstein's new Premier, Gerhard Stoltenberg, He and the Christian Democrats are the unquestionable winners of the state elections. The Free Democrats and right-wing extremists are the clear losers.

The bright light of public interest that has shone on the political scene in Schleswig-Holstein in the course of a long, tough election campaign will soon go out.

With the best will and plans in the world the new state government is strictly limited in the amount of influence it can wield and the likelihood is that it will fail to hit the headlines to anything like the same extent at any stage during the next four years.

What was special about these elections, the first state elections this year apart from the council elections in Bremen, was

neither the local political nor the national policy will Kiel pursue over the next four years? nor the direct national consequences (a possible shift in power in the Bundestag, the country's Upper House).

In both these respects the elections in Schleswig-Holstein were at least as interesting, if not more so.

What has really been significant about the Schleswig-Holstein elections is something the extent of which cannot as yet be assessed – the influence it has exercised on the Social Democrats (SPD), one of two major parties.

The electoral outcome will exercise a strong influence on the relationship between the party leadership and the majority of the rank and file and the left wing.

Jochen Steffen, the Schleswig-Holstein SPD leader, can be taken to symbolise all left-wing Social Democrats, whether they be old-school Socialists of Hesse-South or the rebellious *Junger Sozialisten*.

A man who sounds more like an ideologue than a politician, more like a political scientist than a politician, a man who frankly and firmly admits to being a Socialist, Jochen Steffen faced a sober, conservative Christian Democrat, Gerhard Stoltenberg in the campaign.

The SPD campaign was Steffen's campaign, the election results are Steffen's. Socialist policies have been seen to be not without effect on at least the electorate of Schleswig-Holstein.

Yet the Social Democrats would be ill-advised to come to premature conclusions. There is call for neither satisfaction nor disappointment and a tougher and more intolerant line.

As a major party in a pluralistic society the Social Democrats can only succeed by means of tolerating pluralism of political opinion within their own ranks.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 26 April 1971)

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The Chinese dragon courts the American eagle

Werner Stadt-Annalor

The Chinese ideogram for table tennis is based on the sign for the army, a British journalist has discovered. Maybe, he suggested, this accounts for the earnest with which the Chinese play ping-pong, a sport in which they rank among the world's best.

The American and Canadian table tennis players who recently returned from a triumphant tour of China did not gain the impression that they were being treated in a military or warlike fashion, though.

"I have been in 89 countries in my time," one of the entourage commented, "and I have never been made to feel so welcome as here."

Seldom has so much been written and submitted about a state visit, let alone about an encounter of this kind between sportsmen who can not even claim to be well-known.

American public opinion, the Press and TV at least, noted with surprise and evident relief that China too is populated by people and that Chou En-lai, Premier of the People's Republic, is even prepared to go so far as exchange words with an American hippie.

Eighteen thousand people gave the American visitors a rip-roaring welcome in the Peking stadium and the posters proclaiming "Down with American Imperialism" had been replaced by others wishing long life to unity among peoples of the world.

It is hard to judge as yet whether the sceptical attitude Washington has adopted in view of the enthusiasm shown by the general public is a fair reflection on the government's opinion of developments in relations with Peking.

The United States and China have a special relationship that has arisen in the course of a long and chequered history. Odium and sympathy are equally likely

to develop and observers of the American scene have seen for themselves how the one can change into the other.

What, though, are the motives of the government concerned at this particular juncture and what results may ensue?

Over the last few months, since the end of the Cultural Revolution, China's foreign policy has been more active than at any time since 1949, when Mao took over power on the mainland.

Diplomatic relations have been or are being established with many countries in both East and West. Canada and China have just exchanged ambassadors. Despite the table tennis ambassadors and China have yet to follow suit.

But according to Chou En-lai President Nixon had his press officer state that a new leaf had been turned over in relations with China. There are even forecasts of reciprocal visits by Chou En-lai and Richard Nixon.

Yet even if, after the ping-pong of mutual cordiality and initial practical moves on travel and commerce, diplomatic contacts such as were maintained in Warsaw for many years ensue, the two sides will for some time continue to come up against two fundamental issues that have so far prevented the establishment of normal relations. The one is Chiang Kai-shek, the other Vietnam.

America's loyalty to the aged generalissimo of Taiwan is maintained with difficulty by a China lobby that is steadily declining in influence, a trend that Mr. Agnew's vocal support cannot reverse.

Mind you, Washington has so far stood by its military pledges to Chiang's refuge. So far, too, it has rigorously opposed all attempts to replace Taiwan's man at the United Nations with a representative of the People's Republic.

Not this year, maybe, but next year or the year after next at the latest even so cautious an observer as Secretary-General U Thant reckons the world will see a mainland Chinese diplomat move into the glass palace on New York's East River.

Previous compromises are not out of the question and Peking may gain access to the United Nations even sooner but it is idle to speculate.

To date the war in Vietnam has been an ideal opportunity for the Chinese of firing incessant, florid propaganda broadsides at the United States and its allies in Saigon. Vietnam may from now on play an entirely different role both for Washington and for Peking.

Now that the United States proposes to reduce its military commitments in South Vietnam to a few ground units and a powerful air shield while at the same time ensuring that its erstwhile ally is not liquidated by means of a full-scale invasion from the North it would be extremely useful if Peking were to bring a moderating influence to bear on Hanoi.

What is more, China might, in return for membership of the United Nations and economic assistance, be prepared to bring this influence to bear for a number of years at least.

Which is not, of course, to forget the third man, the Soviet Union. The interplay of relations between Washington, Moscow and Peking will grow increasingly important in world affairs over the forthcoming decade.

There need be no dramatic developments but increasingly agile manoeuvres and a swift succession of alliances is a certainty.

The issue of predominance or balance of power in Asia is inextricably linked with this relationship, though of course other countries, Japan, Indonesia, India, Australia and New Zealand, are also involved.

It is a confusing combination of ties and opposites and the course and outcome of events cannot be forecast in advance even in the short term.

As long as it is incapable of taking joint political action Europe will at best be a bystander and if the worst comes to the worst a pawn.

A number of European countries, first and foremost the Federal Republic, would do well to dismiss illusions that the power struggle in Asia might come to a conclusion convenient for themselves.

In the long term, though, no one can stop this country from boosting trade with Peking. Even now Bonn is third only to Japan and Hong Kong. This country has long since overtaken the Soviet Union in trade with Peking.

Hans Gernach
(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 21 April 1971)

Alarming prospects in East Pakistan

independence" has led, logically enough, to a further offer to supply arms should the need arise.

As long as India refrains from invading East Pakistan it remains to be seen whether or not this pledge is intended merely as a preventive ultimatum to New Delhi as pages of political commentaries in Pakistani papers, mainly by West Pakistani politicians, have presumed.

Political observers recall, however, that Peking responded to the Indo-Pakistani Kashmir conflict of 1963 with a similar warning which was taken so seriously by Washington and Moscow that they brought pressure to bear on both sides to conclude an armistice.

The comparison does not, admittedly, stand up to particularly close examination since this time the Pakistani army is involved, potentially at least, in a war on two fronts, against the entrapment-bent East Bengalis on the one hand and the Indian army, which is at action stations, on the other.

Even so, then as now China has come out in favour of a Pakistani military President because West Pakistan is both strategically and no doubt as an opponent

of India of greater importance to it than East Pakistan, which would like to come to terms with neighbouring India.

But providing that appropriate pressure is brought to bear, mainly by the United States on this occasion, of course, this fact alone ought to be enough to stop India from intervening directly in East Bengal.

In the long term, though, a military solution to the problem of East Pakistan is out of the question. As the Pakistani generals will hardly be in a position to bank on China and disregard the rest of the world for all time there is at least a hope that the military regime will at some stage or other start to investigate the more fundamental causes of the crisis and grant the Bengalis a greater degree of autonomy after all.

These hopes would, however, be dashed if what is as yet largely a political and propaganda confrontation in East Pakistan were to lead to military confrontation. Not to mention the fact that any development of this kind would be bound to increase the suffering of the general public in Pakistan's Eastern province.

Werner Adam
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 20 April 1971)The Arab federation and the Mirage fighters
DER TAGESSPIEGEL

The Arab federation of three, the League of Arab States, has become the twenty-eight count, extremely popular in the Arab world because, as far as the general public is concerned, it would appear to be a long time coming. The old dream of Arab unity could be a long time coming, if the forecast. The League, though, it too contains the same dream.

Equatorial Guinea is now the twenty-ninth country to recognise the GDR. Is a distinction between "all liberal states" and those countries striving for socialism (and does Bonn intend to do anything encouraged to join) and Arab states?

Even its initial proclamation of the foreign policy side of this country's tries with completely different aims and economic problems. The German people.

It is hard to envisage a situation in which the foreign policy side of this country's tries with completely different aims and economic problems. The German people.

To this extent it also represents a change in attitude towards the Arab world. The League of Arab States, which was founded in 1945, has now become a federation of states.

Colonel Gaddafi's anti-Communist outlook is not a factor that could easily lead to a change in attitude towards the Arab world. The League of Arab States, which was founded in 1945, has now become a federation of states.

The military cooperation between the two countries has been reached in a spirit of mutual respect and understanding. The League of Arab States, which was founded in 1945, has now become a federation of states.

The joint supreme command of the new Arab federation is, however, to be based in Cairo. The League of Arab States, which was founded in 1945, has now become a federation of states.

That would be particularly problematic in view of the fact that the League of Arab States, which was founded in 1945, has now become a federation of states.

supply "warfare" Israel with the latest in military equipment. The League of Arab States, which was founded in 1945, has now become a federation of states.

DER TAGESSPIEGEL, 20 April 1971

The German Tribune

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Heinz Verfürth
(Händelsblatt, 26 April 1971)

POLITICS

Bonn content to wait and see on GDR recognition issue

Just a fortnight has passed since GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Jörg Sibi was able to announce that Bonn had become the twenty-eight count, extremely popular in the Arab world because, as far as the general public is concerned, it would appear to be a long time coming. The old dream of Arab unity could be a long time coming, if the forecast. The League, though, it too contains the same dream.

The Social and Free Democratic coalition in Bonn has made nonsense of the basis of the Hallstein Doctrine by talking of two German states and making treatment of the GDR dependent on East Berlin's readiness to bring about a relaxation of tension within Germany.

Bonn's present attitude towards the GDR's relations with third countries and possible GDR membership of the United Nations is pragmatic but, to East Berlin's chagrin, still based on developments in the relationship between the two parts of Germany.

A second wave of recognition occurred in spring and early summer last year. Congo (Brazzaville), Somalia, the Central African Republic, Algeria, the Maldives and Ceylon set up embassies in East Berlin and Guinea followed suit in September. Bonn's initial attitude was one of regret.

Guinea is significant because in this case the GDR succeeded for the first time in gaining sole representation for East Berlin by so marginalising this country that President Sekou Toure sent Bonn's ambassador and development aid workers packing.

In all other cases, with the sole exception of Algeria, where Bonn has no ambassador, this country's diplomats stayed at their posts.

Ceylon is of interest as the sole country in which Bonn brought development aid to a virtual standstill following recognition of the GDR. In the others it was either so negligible as not to make any difference or continued as before, as in Algeria.

Will Chilo and Equatorial Guinea now be the precursors of a fresh wave of recognition? Bonn is fairly optimistic that this will not be the case. One country or another may yet recognise East Berlin but no one expects the GDR to achieve any major success.

Besides, the number of countries that have so far recognised the GDR is a good deal more impressive than their political importance.

For the time being there is little likelihood of recognition of the GDR by the Allies, Nato, Western Europe or major industrial countries such as Japan.

In India, for instance, this country's position has if anything been consolidated since Indira Gandhi's overwhelming victory at the polls, one of the results of

which has been that she is no longer dependent on Communist goodwill.

What is more, the GDR's tactics of persuading individual small countries to recognise it in return for considerable political and commercial expenditure represents a significant strain on East Berlin's resources.

So far this dedicated effort has scored a number of individual successes but there is still no sign of a major breakthrough on the horizon.

In a number of countries, the Central African Republic, for instance, a considerable discrepancy between the GDR's promises and what it is in a position to deliver has come to light.

Barely six months after the exchange of ambassadors with East Berlin President Bokassa disillusionedly talked in terms of "certain friends" who "have spoiled our prospects with old friends who understood us well enough end, for instance, helped us to build factories and set up a merchant navy."

In Ceylon too the GDR has nowhere near made up for the decline in trade with this country.

Bonn is playing it cool, taking decisions in accordance with its own interests and trusting in its political importance and economic power.

For the time being the Federal government is not prepared to make the GDR internationally acceptable. It aims by refusing to recognise the GDR for the time being to make East Berlin more ready to negotiate within Germany.

There is no longer any mention of sanctions but it is evident that when diplomatic relations cool off, as in Ceylon's case, economic relations and development aid suffer as a result.

There are differences of opinion on this score between the Ministry of Economic Cooperation and the Foreign Office. Dr. Eppeler's Ministry is firmly convinced that development aid is not a suitable means of aiding and abetting short-term foreign policy considerations and this view has been confirmed by a Cabinet decision.

As a rule current projects are continued and negotiations on new ones brought to a conclusion but a more cautious approach is brought to bear on new schemes. Differences of opinion on the extent of future development aid are almost inevitable, as can be seen in the case of Chile, which is currently under Cabinet discussion.

As Bonn's approach is pragmatic it can well change. Even before the formal conclusion of a treaty between Bonn and East Berlin - in the event, say, of a satisfactory Berlin settlement - the Federal government could be more forthcoming.

What if policy towards the Eastern Bloc grinds to a halt? "We can uphold our position for some time to come," the Foreign Office maintains. How long, one can but wonder.

Rold Zundel
(DIE ZEIT, 23 April 1971)

West Berlin SPD wins a Pyrrhic victory

West Berlin Senate, the new city council, has seen the light of day. The new Senate is nothing spectacular yet its labour pains were considerable.

The Social Democrats have an absolute majority and were able to make all the appointments themselves but when it came to the crunch the distribution of posts proved more problematic than coalition talks with another party.

Confident of tried and trusted Social Democratic party discipline the right wing was inexorable in its dealings with the left wing of the party.

Once again it has proved far more trying and complicated to form an absolute majority government than to reach a sensible compromise with a coalition partner. Yet the West Berlin SPD leaders must have known what they were in for when they decided to go it alone. Far too often and unrestrainedly the right wing had exploited its numerical majority to the pitiful disadvantage of the left.

It was only to be expected that the left wing would grasp the opportunity of having a minority sufficient to prevent the election of new Senators by the council and utilise it to the full.

Viewed in the clear light of day the left wing has not really exploited this position as much as it might have done. One left-wing Senator and two left-wing Senate directors may sound good but the presence of a women Senator for Youth and Sport as the representative of the left wing of the party at Schönberg town hall is nothing to write home about, not even when she has a fellow left-winger as Senate director.

Harry Ristock, left wing spokesman, may now be a Senoic director, the equivalent of a State Secretary in a state government, but that alone is not going to set the world on fire either.

All the key posts have remained in the hands of right-wingers and the left wing has been fobbed off with consolation prizes.

In the circumstances Klaus Schütz, Governing Mayor and SPD leader in West Berlin, will have difficulty in pursuing the policy advocated by his predecessor, party leader and Chancellor, Willy Brandt.

There is no point in crying over spilt milk but there is no harm either in repeating that in coalition with the Free Democrats Klaus Schütz would have had a broader base for supporting the Bonn Social and Free Democratic coalition government's policy on Germany and towards the Eastern Bloc.

Meyer Schütz must now rely for support on a local party that on the German question speaks the language of the extreme right-wing *Aktion Widerstand*.

What else can be said when West Berlin SPD describes the Soviet paper on the Four-Power talks as a document of capitulation?

Klaus Schütz faces four troubled years - end not only in respect of his own party. He will have to prepare for a war on two fronts on the city council.

The ruling Social Democrats will be faced with opposition from both the Left and the Right. Virtually any controversial topic could try the SPD to the point of breaking point.

At the polls the Social Democrats just about managed to maintain their absolute majority. Will they pull it off again after four years of soul-destroying Christian and Free Democratic opposition?

This is a particularly acute question when it is borne in mind that the SPD on the Spree (the river Spree, that is) have control over the legislative, the executive and the party machine and create the impression of being a party of civil servants. The next elections will tell.

Walter Beck
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 21 April 1971)

Free Democrats re-think

In the Free Democrats' struggle to survive there seemed until recently to be no doubt that the party had no option but to remain on the left of the political spectrum.

The Jungdemokraten were not alone in proclaiming this ideological viewpoint. The trend was borne out by the reality of coalitions in Bonn and many of the Federal states.

A number of the FDP's national and regional leaders now appear to be of the opinion that the Liberals ought, current cooperation with the Social Democrats notwithstanding, to remain in principle prepared to cooperate with both Left and Right.

Their number includes Home Affairs Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Agriculture Minister Josef Ertl and Hildegard Hamm-Brücher, State Secretary at the Ministry of Education in Bonn, and

leading Free Democrats in Hamburg, Bremen, Lower Saxony, Hesse, the Rhineland-Palatinate and Bavaria.

Comments may vary from place to place but the general tenor is that if the FDP is to survive as an independent party it must be able to make a choice on the basis of the day-to-day situation.

This is not to say that the FDP has out as a whole developed into a strongly left-wing party. It is a well-known fact that younger members of the FDP tend to be politically committed towards the Left.

The interesting aspect of this FDP reappraisal is thus that there would appear to be cause for the Free Democrats to reflect whether the reserves of left-wing voters are sufficient to keep Liberalism alive in the long run.

Walter Beck
(Kleiner Nachrichten, 14 April 1971)

PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Minister welcomes frank debate of proposed divorce law reform

Gerhard Jahn, the Minister of Justice, has had to make a number of amendments to his proposed divorce law reform, giving rise to the question of whether the draft Bill he put forward for discussion was not too progressive.

However there was no justification for the fears of many critics who thought that the reforms would not take the existing social situation into consideration.

Only proposals considering the situation in the future can lead to a Bill which all interested parties should have a share in drawing up.

The Minister of Justice probably realised that the public would consider his Bill to be too progressive. But what would have come of his plans if he had heeded the views of the Churches and the conservatives from the very beginning?

The changes forced by the critics of the original Bill, including leading Social Democrats, only bring drawbacks, however.

The principle of marital breakdown has been called into question. Now a marriage in which the partners have lived apart for more than three years will not be annulled automatically because of this period of separation. Jahn's original Bill would have allowed this.

The changes do not make reconciliation any the easier and the divorce cannot be prevented if the partner wanting it employs good enough tactics.

The changes only arouse false hopes and will only lead to judges having to listen to intimate details of a marriage. The original Bill would have avoided this.

This change does not strike at the foundations of Gerhard Jahn's Bill but it does help to water down the Bill's original intention of sparing the feelings

of all parties as much as possible in divorce cases.

As lamentable as this change may be, there is consolation in the fact that Jahn's opponents were unable to push through the introduction of a seven-year separation period and a material hardship clause.

The hardship clause preventing a divorce where it would mean hardship for one of the partners seems to be an important social innovation at first glance. But closer examination reveals that it is to the disadvantage of poorer people.

The Minister of Justice announced his reform plans before they were agreed by the Cabinet. This was an unusual step but it certainly helped to show the wide range of criticism and approval.

The discussion encouraged Jahn to limit the Churches' influence on his Bill with their religious and ethical views.

The public debate dealt with all controversial questions with the result that members of the Bundestag do not now have to sound out public opinion as they would have had to do otherwise.

At one time important social questions were only discussed in academic circles and expert opinions published in specialist periodicals. This time all interested parties were able to gain a hearing.

This procedure is not without its troubles but it is good for a democracy. It demands better nerves than usual practices in which the government only abandons clauses when it is not sure of a comfortable majority in the Bundestag.

We can only look back with alarm at the way that the right of opposition by the "innocent" wife entered civil law in 1961.

This did not result from any conviction of the fairness and correctness of such a

step but the wish of the Christian Democrat government to present a united front in the Bundestag despite contradictory views within the party.

As Jahn stressed that his proposals were a basis for discussion and wished to adapt them after hearing what the public had to say, the changes in his Bill cannot be interpreted as a defeat for the Minister.

Some alteration was necessary concerning maintenance rights. In other cases Jahn had to make concessions not because his arguments were weak but because he was forced to by the overwhelming tenor of public opinion.

There was a general fear that the proposed maintenance clauses could be to the detriment of the older housewives who had not gone out to work for a long time.

These women are frequently completely dependent on their husbands in both thought and action and have grown up with the ideal of a marriage where the wife does not go out to work. They are dependent on their husbands economically and have few political views of their own.

These women were alarmed when the Bill planned to pay serious attention to the principle of equality. Their fear of descending the social ladder, and having a lonely old age and the feeling of failure when a marriage breaks up is understandable.

The stereotyped picture of the happy married couple makes it difficult for them to depart from the old idea of unconditional faithfulness in marriage.

But perhaps the discussions have taught them that it is they themselves who suffer most if they cling to a husband for reasons of maintenance.

The Bill makes it easier for divorced women to end an impossible marital situation and start a new life of their own. The new maintenance clauses are tailor-made to their situation.

It is always a personal hardship to get a divorce or be divorced, irrespective of the divorce law. The plan to give up the idea of the indissolubility of marriage — in law at least — will narrow the gap between ideal and reality.

Mariame Qualtrich
(Köln: Stadt-Anzeiger, 16 April 1971)

Bonn makes public statistics on extremist groups

DIE WELT

The government has announced there are 316 extreme left-wing political groups in the Republic and West Berlin with a membership of some 94,500.

Replying to a Bundestag question, Christian Democrat and Christian socialist politicians, the government said that the Ministry of the Interior found that there were 250 left-wing organisations, including orthodox Communist groups.

The largest of the left-wing groups is the Communist Party (DKP) with 30,000 members. The government believes that the DKP has a party apparatus and a network of contemporary trends in post-war Germany.

The membership of Trotskyist and anarchist groups is about 3,000. Red Cells have some 1,000 members. The extreme left publish 420 newspapers with a circulation of 10 million copies.

For the first time in four years, the membership of extreme right-wing groups has sunk below 30,000. The new Democratic Party is still the largest of the right-wing groups with its 21,000 members. It has lost 7,000 members since 1970.

Deutsche Nationalzeitung with a circulation of 117,000 is the largest right-wing weekly. The government said that the extreme right-wing groups have few international contacts.

(DIE WELT, 16 April 1971)

RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

Myth and legend surround figure of Martin Luther

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Worms is commemorating the 450th anniversary of Martin Luther's refusal to renounce his ideas before the Imperial Diet.

Catholics and Protestants are trying to make a joint approach to the problems of the two Churches and launch a new way of thinking.

Objectivity is the watchword. The fact that the common interpretation of texts by bishops of the two Churches reveals a completely different picture — the picture of the general public has of Martin Luther.

The hymn *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott* (God is our refuge and our strength) can be heard in Worms. The history of the hymn is still the subject of controversy.

Attention should now be switched to a completely different sphere — the picture of the general public has of Martin Luther. The hymn *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott* (God is our refuge and our strength) can be heard in Worms. The history of the hymn is still the subject of controversy.

It has become a Reformation hymn but originally a call to repentance sung by the first version of the cantata was right-wing weekly. The government said that the extreme right-wing groups have few international contacts.

Even two thirds of those people who believe that a hymn to one of the first when Luther, who would lead to a more favourable view of the hymn, was pleased to be able to perform the "An individual's experience of the hymn again, composed the verse starting does not lead him to temper his view of the hymn. The final trumpet part of the hymn is still the subject of controversy.

This is shown by answers to a question to which half of those who experience of civil courts answered the way that the image of Luther became compared with the overall figure of Luther.

The questioners asked whether they felt that the hymn was a good thing or a bad thing. The hymn was a good thing for 50 per cent of the respondents.

The survey also showed what the hymn had done for the Reformation. The hymn was a good thing for 50 per cent of the respondents.

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A print of Martin Luther before Emperor Charles V at Worms in 1521 refusing to retract the stand he had taken up with the nailing of the 95 theses on the door of the church at Wittenberg (Photo: dpa)

Call to Pope to repeal Papal Bull

Before Easter's committee representing Catholics in Worms sent a letter to Pope Paul VI calling for a ruling on the reformer Martin Luther.

The writers of the nine-page memorandum which was also distributed at the doors of all Catholic churches over Easter want the Pope to repeal the Papal Bull excommunicating Martin Luther on 3 January 1521 as a heretic.

The petition claims that a ruling on the excommunication would reduce the tension still existing between the Churches and be one of the important "ecumenical deeds of the Holy Father".

It would not only be of particular significance to the two confessions in this country but could also have important

consequences for Catholics the world over.

Catholics in Worms did not find it easy to compose an appeal calling for an end to the personal discrimination of Martin Luther, despite their progressive beliefs. Before the letter was sent, there were long, violent discussions mainly sparked off by laymen and the clergy did not associate themselves with the appeal until it had found a substantial majority for this action among church-goers.

If the Pope approves — this would be a revolutionary change, the Worms Catholics state — the authors of the petition hope that an end to the commission of Lutherans and Catholics will discuss the problem further.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 10 April 1971)

Worms Memorial Week is no Luther Festival

The programme announces "Commemoration of the 450th Anniversary of the Imperial Diet of Worms of 1521", studiously avoiding the word "celebration" or "festival".

"We are not celebrating a Luther Festival, we are not celebrating anything," said Worms Mayor Kuhfuss in his speech at the opening ceremony.

The opening was formal not only because of the many representatives from public life assembled but also because of a really "ceremonial" musical programme under the strict direction of Tobias Ihle.

It is not easy to find a series of events from the atmosphere of official pompous celebrations. The ceremonies at Worms were concerned with Martin Luther's appearance before the Imperial Diet there in 1521, though from the viewpoint of "Luther 1971".

Dr Kuhfuss stressed that the organisers wanted to prompt a change of thinking as far as Luther was concerned. It was possible in today's world to act in the ecumenical spirit to deal with a common fate. Protestant and Catholic bishops hold joint services.

Professor H. Lutz, the Viennese historian, claimed that the ecumenical movement was a reaction to National Socialist rule. Things had had to go to such extremes before a movement of this type was possible, he said.

In his lecture entitled "Luther and five centuries of German history" Professor Lutz explained the political background to the Imperial Diet and followed the

secularisation of the figure of Luther, its amalgamation with the national consciousness of the nineteenth century and the resultant tension between the Church as an institution in connection with the State and the credibility of the Christian message.

Lutz limited his survey to the past and attributed the success of the Reformation to Luther's own career, thus opposing President Heinemann who had stressed the historical reasons for the forcefulness of the Reformation.

H. Schöffler adds that the Reformation also entailed the establishment of a link between religious forces, after incorporation in a Church, and the power of the State.

President Heinemann, the patron of the Worms commemoration, opposed interpreting Luther ideologically as Marxists do. Religious motives and Luther's personal beliefs were the determining factor of his actions, the President said.

Luther had not sought a new social order nor universal equality. Indeed his basic conservatism would have stood in the way of any social change.

It was his conservative behaviour that has encouraged the fateful link between throne and altar that led to the German Evangelical Church becoming the "Halle-lujah choir" (Hans Iwand) of State authority.

The Church lost sight of its functions in the social sphere — to support the oppressed and exploited. The fateful link

between Church and State hindered the proffered development of the new Churches to parish churches of equal members. It has also had an indirect hindering influence on the social equality peculiar to a democracy.

We today have at least lost the self-assuredness of Luther's pupils, the President continued. "We have recognised that there can be no Christian policy and a Christian State but we also know that it is a Christian duty to obey God's word in political actions as well."

"The imitation of Jesus Christ is a revolutionary force. We have failed where it does not exist. By admitting this to ourselves yet continuing to obey the duties placed upon us, we once again find the right contact with Luther."

On the Sunday leading representatives of the Protestant and Catholic Churches attended ecumenical services and mentioned the need to stress what they had in common despite all differences and pray together for the lost unity of the Church.

Moderator Ihle, head of the Hesse-Nassau Church, said that while Catholics and Protestants both considered themselves to be the one true Church and community of Christ fifty years ago, they knew today that they were both serving the Lord.

The Catholic Bishop of Mainz stressed that division did not impair the Church's power of testimony. Unity of belief was the condition for the unity of the Church, he said. The Church was on Earth not for its own sake but to bear the testimony of God in the world.

The Luther Commemoration Week continued to 25 April with lectures, discussion evenings and musical events. An exhibition on the background and consequences of the Diet of Worms will continue until 31 October.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 19 April 1971)

Survey shows public has little confidence in the law

People in the Federal Republic do not have a very high estimation of their legal system and this will not be overcome by better knowledge of the law, thought by many to be a patent solution. The population's mistrust of the law has been lamented for years but it is not due so much to ignorance as to bad experiences with the law, lawyers and law courts.

Wolfgang Kaupen and Theo Raschorn came to this harsh conclusion after making their preliminary evaluation of a representative survey examining the public's attitude to the law in the Federal Republic.

The survey was commissioned by the Research Community and conducted by the Sociology Working Group for Legal Matters of Cologne University.

During the course of last summer 1,100 adults gave the interviewers their opinions about this country's legal system. The sample was a representative cross-section of the whole population as far as age, profession, sex, religion and home background were concerned.

Kaupen and Raschorn do not believe that the strained relationship between citizen and law is due so much to society's ignorance of the law as the law's remoteness from society. They therefore believe that not even the best law instruction in schools can narrow this gap between the individual and the law.

"There would be little sense in trying to acquaint the public with a legal system that overlooks the real interests of the population," Kaupen and Raschorn claim.

Confidence in the law could only be

Improved, they claim, if the laws conform more strongly to the wishes of society and if judges and lawyers change their attitude towards the public.

These views are supported by answers given in the survey. The greatest mistrust of the law was generally shown by people who had already had some contact with the law in either civil or criminal cases. Traffic offences were the most common reason for their appearance before the court.

Remarkably enough, most of these people had won these cases or settled out of court to their advantage. Only one in eight lost. The mistrust of justice must therefore be more deeply-rooted in the population than to depend solely on what success or lack of success a person had had in his dealings with the law.

A question in the survey showed that this was the case. The sample was asked, "Assuming you have difficulties with your insurance company after an accident because the company only wishes to pay for half the damage. Would you accept the company's decision even though you believed that you were in the right or would you go to court even if it was a matter of some 250 Marks?"

Less than half the population (45 per cent) would take the case to the courts, the survey showed. Women were the most

likely group to give in while intellectuals, executives and civil servants were least prepared to accept a compromise.

Significantly enough, 54 per cent of those people who had already taken a case to court would now give in and accept the fifty per cent offered by the insurance company.

With sixty per cent they are also the most violent critics, believing that lawyers only make a case more difficult than it already is. On average only half the sample interviewed consider this view to be justified.

The overwhelming majority describe a typical judge as painstaking and objective while only half the sample also thought of him as friendly and helpful. Again, those people in the sample who had had contact in the law had certain doubts about a judge's objectivity.

People who have appeared before judges are more likely to criticise this profession as being unfriendly, biased, off-putting and subjective. Those who had come into contact with chancery court judges claimed that they were very superficial.

Another factor throwing bad light on the objectivity of judges is the belief shared by almost three-quarters (74 per cent) of the population that it is easier to win a case if a person has a lot of money.

People like pop-art and are willing to pay large sums of money for it. American artist Andy Warhol received over 40,000 Marks for a coloured picture of Rockefeller and Roy Lichtenstein's comic strips command sums of 45,000 Marks. A Brunswick professor now claims that pop-art has no merit and is nothing but commercialism.



Picasso's Woman

Nothing of the sort had happened since the nineteenth century — a new art style made its bow to the public, was immediately applauded and soon soared on the art market.

That was pop-art, a movement that concentrates on the banal, everyday world of advertising, consumer goods, technology, eroticism and politics and limits itself to the more or less realistic portrayal of Coca-Cola bottles, comic strips or cans of soup.

There were always lone voices criticising the whole conception of pop-art. But this criticism was never devastating. Until now.

The small Munich publishing concern of Moos has issued a 88-page pamphlet with the harmless sounding title *Pop-Art*, an academic critique and comprehensive study of the movement.

The booklet accuses pop-art of being: Devoid of merit; Banal and consequently successful; Primitivist; A copy of Dadaism; Commercialist.

These accusations carry some weight. The author of the work is Jürgen Weber, 43, a sculptor and Professor at Brunswick's Technical University.

His remarks have already met with angry reaction. The theories he now puts forward are based on a series of lectures he held at the time.

Weber reports, "The art students were outraged by my theories and they were able to manifest their outrage better by making a racket than by putting forward reasoned arguments. All they did was stage a pop spectacle."

"The reaction of the local press was unfavourable. Their report of my lecture was wrong and incomplete. Corrections submitted by some of the audience and finally by the author and university representatives were not published. It is an established custom that there is no freedom of opinion in the field of art."

Jürgen Weber has good reasons for saying what he does about pop-art.

American pop-artists such as Rauschenberg, Warhol, Oldenburg, Lichtenstein and Wesselmann seem to be progressive and untrammelled by tradition but they do have two forerunners — Dadaists Marcel Duchamp and Kurt Schwitters.

As early as 1914 Marcel Duchamp was exhibiting bottle-racks as sculptures to wake the bourgeoisie from their sleepy admiration for the old masters. These so-called ready-mades were meant to shake existing concepts of art and aesthetics.

THE ARTS

Brunswick professor exposes pop-art

The forerunners of pop-art such as Robert Rauschenberg and Jasper Johns were also called neo-Dadaists. They and the pop-artists exploited Dadaism though to different ends. While the ready-mades were meant to provoke the bourgeoisie, the pop-artists took them seriously.

Marcel Duchamp himself complained in 1962: "This neo-Dada, this pop-art is no more than a convenient solution living off what Dada created. When I invented ready-mades I wanted to question aesthetics. Neo-Dada has taken my ready-mades and found aesthetic beauty in them."

While Marcel Duchamp made no financial profit from his protests, the pop-art people are living off the fat of the land.

The movement reaches its shallowest point where Andy Warhol draws cans of soup and packets of washing powder and Rauschenberg signs dollar bills, Weber claims. Unlike Marcel Duchamp, the pop-artists use art as a means to hit the big money.

Weber reports, "Warhol's only original invention was the transference of photographs on to canvas by the screen process. He has used it everywhere he can. Cows, flowers, cola bottles and film idols such as Marilyn Monroe, Elvis Presley or Liz Taylor are all captured in colour and symbolically arranged. This tradition is so banal that everyone can understand it and that is why it is so successful."

"But how can this be reconciled with the artistic pretensions of Andy Warhol? How can this be reconciled with the incredible prices paid for such works? Warhol recently received ten thousand dollars for a colour photo of Rockefeller that he had transferred on to canvas by the screen process."

Horror scenes form part of Andy

Warhol's repertoire. His death series showing an electric chair and a road accident are well-known. Weber says, "His fascination with horror has no artistic merit."

Weber adds that he is tempted to think that this portrayal of the horrors of the modern world means good trade for Warhol. "Horror and sex have always sold well. Andy Warhol thinks and feels like everyone else in the United States and that is why he has such great success there."

Together with Pop pioneer Marcel Duchamp, Hanover-born Kurt Schwitters is also a popular and rich source for pop-artists. The highly-praised work of Robert Rauschenberg, the first American to win the Grand Prix for art at the Venice Biennial, is an unmistakable imitation of Schwitters.

"The most important difference is the size," comments Weber, adding, "Schwitters' work far surpasses all similar works by Rauschenberg in formal quality."

Professor Weber also attacks Lichtenstein, the most popular and expensive pop-artists after Warhol. "The popularity of Lichtenstein's comic strips which fetch up to ten thousand dollars is due not to the artistic quality of the work but to the popularity of the real comic strips."

"His pictures never originate from a primary visual experience of his own which he tries to record on canvas. His painting consists almost exclusively in taking originals, changing them and thus forming new pictures."

Weber describes Lichtenstein's versions of Picasso paintings as a complete failure: "He has fully misunderstood Picasso who is made subject to the usual clichés spouted by people who do not understand him."

There is a touch of dramatics in every event and the ten day "London now in Berlin" show was no exception. Pop groups were of course "the new musical generation", happenings were "total theatre" and the art exhibition heralded "the death pangs of the London art trade".

Those taking part added their bit. On the opening night one group removed the fuses of another and a third group refused to perform following a difference of opinion with the organisers.

The fact that this final group was Mark Boyle's *Sensual Laboratory* is however only pity. Boyle is the inventor of psychedelic lighting effects and his work with Jimi Hendrix and *The Soft Machine* made his group famous.

After this contretemps there only remained the exhibition of Boyle's *Earth Probes* in the Academy of Arts. Hung and lit unfavourably, they are not much more than stage props, fragments of a missing whole.

But these painstaking *Earth Probes* still retain their peculiar effect. Perhaps the easiest to understand are the sand series where the enormous variety of the traces of water can be seen — those liquid formations that fascinate us on the beach.

The *Probes* are more than reproductions. They bear a fine layer of the object's surface, thus retaining its vitality. Other items with stones, branches, leaves and earth have a pronounced aesthetic effect.

The critical point is reached with the "street probes" — pavements, pedestrian crossings and cobblestones. This is everyday life where no aesthetic associations can intrude.

London show visits Berlin

It is surprising what a sculptural and occasionally powerful effect these bits of reality have. When all is said and done, Boyle is only pushing the principle of *Neuveau Réalisme* to its logical conclusion.

The exhibition in the trade fair halls by the radio tower has been but on by 23 artists of a group of ninety in all who have been working since 1969 in the old derelict St Katharina's Dock in London's East End.

There is no common artistic impulse to be found in this exhibition. There is Op-art with the moiré effect, Pop-art, a mixture of Morris Loula and Informal Art, Minimal Art and Monochrom. The list could be extended ad infinitum.

This is not to suggest that there are no original achievements here. There is Peter Logan's moving electronic sculpture called "Square Dance" with four rotating red discs providing an experiment in time and space.

Peter Sedgley and Don Mason ("Colour Maze") have once again effectively taken up an old ZERO idea with hanging plastic strips and neon light.

Rose Garrard's *Circle* of four veiled black tailor's dummies achieves a certain dramatic effect.

Perhaps nothing more was to be expected from a group that had come



Lichtenstein's version of Pissarro's 'Die Zeit'

One of the most popular subjects in the comic strips is war and brutality. This play from the early fifties is a

ing of this tendency. Weber says, "The elementary anarchistic tenet of the war pictures do not give that once drove this playwright. He criticism, enlightenment or political need to blast the structure of the depiction of war is so stupid bourgeois society into which he was born pretty coloured that anyone could extract his own the works in the face of current events from this setup."

The Professor thinks he is cold and hostile to society, reasons why: "It was precisely where political weapons are not yet artist's function to innovate, reflected and for this reason aesthetic trends and put his stamp on the become an instrument of destruction turned upon those who think that as far

"Pop-artists are now marching to art and certain other constants are the times. Advertisers, designers, they have got it made! psychologists have developed in the midst of tumult, of bourgeois rotus over a number of years grabbing for possessions, lust for sex, artist needs only to take it which fills the first tableau of the play That must be manipulated with a lecherous, materialist society, a chief of police attempts to negotiate an

"If pop-art were nothing more than a means to protect him from new products in the world of consumer catastrophes and revolutions, and consumer goods, there would be no longer any security to need to talk about it. But it is not had."

Heidegger, who forecasts doom, who sees the and the complete poverty of the values of the citizens' possessions, his- and all, in grave danger, there dances a whole world, revelling, copulating, carving itself to death, happily, destructively."

"Throughout the play Peter Weiss pro- together by accident. The tracks the moment when all inhibitions thing is that it enables so many of are shelved — in tableau after tableau he work although Robert Kuhnle repeats the explosion of the bourgeois pillories social indifference in the order of society; destructiveness is life, catalogue. This is why people are indulged, violence and greed wonder whether two or three times sweep anxiously under the carpet."

The visitor now finds himself gazing at the rot, the whole process of round tower-like room containing a resolution. In each new scene he puts on the stage A gallery above enables the viewer another horrifying picture of yet another new grotesque act. He shows men fighting

Everything is white with lime, people copulating as they dance, mountain of cotton waste the vicious and wanton, selfish and grab-floor. This is the place where the stupid songs and losing their Brislley's *Surgical Minutes* take place. The performance begins with a speech and their human under- and his group slowly sleep-walks

The transition from the human to the animal is varied. We see a hirsute en- and again Brislley suddenly strikes like a lost dog. His body covered in furs dissolve. A man begs his way through the woman to abandoned sensuous- surrounding audience."

The game gradually accelerates everyone goes around in a circle, facing the women. The man's fastor until he races across the hair flying. When he is ready, he sprints away as if in a race. The over."

We do not really know what the text to the play that was seen. At times we were bored. The tension was so great that the "different". And Brislley is not a actor but a sculptor. The impulses are caused such a shock."

John Anthony T... (DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, 10 April 1971)

THE STAGE

Peter Weiss first-ever play loses impact after 19 years

had been seen already in the Bunuel films came far before its time in the theatre.

It is irritating to find that now *Die Versicherung* has been staged in Essen it is virtually too late. It is really behind the times since it does not meet with any disapproval of note from today's sophisticates.

Has society already had so many of the props knocked from under it that Weiss' *Totenhaus* of bourgeois belief in safety can now be considered consumer entertainment?

The Essen production, directed by Hans Neuenfels ran for about two hours without a break and the lack of unfavourable reaction was remarkable. The whole thing was accepted as a sterile work of art.

Neuenfels and his scenic designer, Wilfried Minks, went even further than Peter Weiss' stage directions in their settings. They brought the speediness of the dramatic personae into such sharp focus that many of the scenes looked as if they had been clipped from old silent movies. They became optical exaggerations of a society that has only genitalia, but no vocal cords.

Hans Neuenfels is a director who likes to make his characters materialise with optical drawings and he has made Weiss' play into a copulation ballet, with, so to speak, act piled on top of act, and position after position discovered and tried out. More and more phallic symbols are quoted incessantly throughout the play.

All this serves to underline the sexual obsessions of the citizens, but also, it must be added, the sexual obsessions of the author as well.

Certainly the relationship of the bourgeois to sexuality is corrupt and does serves to be scorned as Weiss instructs the actors with a number of stage directions. But Neuenfels does not concentrate so much on depicting the damage and the sicknesses that result from sublimation as the aesthetic outcome of it.

In the scenes where Peter Weiss aggressively and often uncouthly works out situations in which it is shown how sexuality is determined by the relationship to property and greed for more possessions Neuenfels keeps coming up with beautiful stylised tableaux.

He cuts up the scenes as set out by

Boleslaw Barlog - a profile at 65

Along a what it once was. But it could take consolation in the fact that it had Barlog or "Boli Haarlock" as he was affectionately known because of his curly hair.

Berlin will feel the pinch when Boleslaw Barlog quits as manager of the Berlin State theatres (Schiller Theater, Schlosspark Theater and theatre workshop) on 31 August 1972, even though Hans Lietzau may be taking over as his successor.

But Barlog will not quit Berlin completely. Freed of his role as theatre manager he will be able to devote himself to the free paths of directing. Nevertheless as a theatre manager Boleslaw Barlog has written his name in the history book of the German theatre as a theatre manager with greater credit than as a director, although this is not to detract from his significance.

On 28 March this native of Wrocław (Breslau) was 65 years-old. He came to Berlin to speak at the eleventh hour



A scene from *Die Versicherung* by Peter Weiss

(Photo: Erich vom Endt)

Weiss, which were fairly arbitrarily thrown together anyway, into even smaller units, often mute arrangements and settings in which an optical notion is built up and played through.

This is a credit to the dramatic talents of Neuenfels with his vivid imagination and Wilfried Minks with his uncaring sense of the aesthetic, but this realism that is inherent in the Weiss play is not altered nor attacked in any way.

Neuenfels has condensed all the sensuality and sociability in the play to a code of mannered arrangements, drawing on a kind of art that has gone down in history and been generally accepted — *Jugendstil* and Surrealism.

Since the audience for this play is being carved up by the playwright he has been able to a come back to the path of an agreement on the road to cowering respect.

This system of sketching that is now in the books on the history of art has robbed this play of its punch. It becomes an exemplary piece of Surrealism, but in its mobilisation of the everyday world of the bourgeois it is not only Surrealist but also terroristic.

Instead of achieving its aim of making the overconfident less confident, the production of *Die Versicherung* in Essen could be taken as a palliative.

The reason is that the audience can find itself in agreement with the playwright that there is at least a common aesthetic that transcends catastrophes, revolutions, anarchy and unbridled sexual indulgence and has a lasting value.

Ernst Wendt

(DIE ZEIT, 10 April 1971)

Bond play staged in Hamburg

Edward Bond has had to wait a long time for the Federal Republic premiere of his play *Die Hochzeit des Papstes* (The pope's wedding) which was staged at London's Royal Court Theatre as long ago as December 1962.

This is the almost-parable of the increasing identification of the newly-married Scopey (played by Knut Hinz at the performance in the *Malersaal* of Hamburg's Deutsches Schauspielhaus) with the aged, greying hermit, Alen (acted by Josef Dahmen).

The play was banned after its first performance in London — in fact the day after! Since then it has more or less been overtaken by Edward Bond's later plays, partly because of their greater realism, partly because of the greater challenge they present.

"Pops" Scopey is in fact too much of a model set in a world of impossibilities to counteract the contradiction between the need on the one hand to isolate himself from society and on the other hand to view society from the position of isolation, observe it closely and tie himself to it.

Scopey's example is Alen, a lachrymose, impenitent, exaggeratedly sensitive anomaly of the world around him on the one hand. On the other hand he is a voyeur, a reader and collector of newspapers, a man who eats food out of tins and a masterful men making clear claims to power.

Petar von Wiese accordingly directed Josef Dahmen along these lines. Josef Dahmen accordingly interpreted the role of Alen along these lines.

Typical of this interpretation are gestures of protection and domination. Putting a hand on an unopened can of preserves; bending down completely over the newspapers that Alen is reading; stretching out an arm as master of all he survey — a corrugated iron hut.

In addition to this there are typical gestures of senility, with body and mind decaying.

There is a reminiscence of the taciturn man such as Samuel Beckett's Krapp — a man who goes out of his way without meeting himself along the road and who does not become involved with the few people he meets along the road (Scopey and his wife).

In the end Scopey murders Alen, dons his military cloak and takes over his role. Silently he squats in the corner of the hut to listen for possible signals from the world outside.

Jürgen Schmidt

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 14 April 1971)

(Kieker Nachrichten, 14 April 1977)

■ THE ECONOMY

Temporary suspension of fixed rates of exchange to solve currency problems

DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG

Few people realise that the ten thousand million dollars that the Bundesbank holds in reserve at the moment are practically enough to buy out Fort Knox! The gold reserves that the United States guards at Fort Knox are worth only slightly more than this amount, which the Bundesbank could present to the American treasury and demand gold.

The dollar is a reserve currency without reserves. Only the political might of the United States of America is upholding it. For this prevents the creditors of the United States from taking advantage of the rights granted in the Bretton Woods Agreement which forms the basis of the world currency system that has been working itself to death for the past twenty-five years.

But the political might of the United States lies in the threat that is posed to Europe by the Soviet Union and to other countries by Red China.

Who would be able to give the dollar a helping hand if ever Russia decided to make friendly advances to Western Europe with the aim of undermining this power that America has over European countries?

It is fortunate for the Americans that the Russians have not yet discovered the potential that lies in this manoeuvre. Trusting in the traditional lack of imagination in the Kremlin the Americans feel that they can continue to blackmail Europe with the threat of Russia, and Japan with the threat of Red China into backing the dollar.

Therefore the Federal Republic finds itself caught in the web of inflation because America is going through an inflationary phase.

Banknote printing machinery is the origin of these dollars which the Bundesbank is forced to convert into Marks, leading to further inflation of our currency.

Since the turn of the year America's bank of issue has made out State debt bills for approximately six milliard dollars in order to finance debts run up by public spending.

At the same time the American banks that suddenly found themselves with a new and unexpected flood of liquid cash were glad to be able to pay off debts to the London money market, and hence the market for Eurodollars, with this artificially created new wealth.

As part of its business the London money market circulated this flood of dollars and practically the whole of it landed up in the Bundesbank vaults with the result that on 15 March this year the Bundesbank had 37.7 thousand million in foreign exchange as compared with 7.7 thousand million last year.

The purpose of printing all these new dollars was to get the American economy going again after a period of deflation. This aim has not yet been achieved.

The inflationary impulse shot across the Atlantic like an intercontinental missile that had got out of control and landed on the least inflationary country in Europe - the Federal Republic.

Money has a need to stay on the move and therefore makes for the country where there are the fewest administrative bars to its moving on again at any time.

With this background the lowering of Bank Rate to the Federal Republic was

intended as a measure to counteract the importation of hot money. But the flood of dollars into this country became even more marked which only underlines the futility of this measure in the economist's bag of tricks.

The difference in interest rates between Frankfurt and New York was cut, and there are signs that the money market across the Atlantic is getting tougher.

Even the paradoxical situation whereby "three month money" in hard Marks had a one-per-cent higher interest rate than in dollars was swept away. But this paradox only goes to reflect the great preparedness of people in this country to run up debts and the great reluctance of the Americans to do so.

We are not yet sure how far the Bundesbank will go in trying to direct this great preparedness to get into debt and how far the Bundesbank will be influenced by it, since it is now possible to borrow more cheaply from German banks.

The Bundesbank has already given a warning signal with its careful adjustment of the ceiling for the little used bills of exchange. The banks must think positively whether it is really so certain that the freshly fabricated money on a dollar basis will be replaced by money fabrication on a bill-of-exchange basis.

This uncertainty which calls for great care in the formulation of credit policies is about the only appreciable outcome of the decisions taken by the Central Bank Committee on 31 March.

The lowering of Bank Rate by a full

point was completely inundated by the flight away from the dollar.

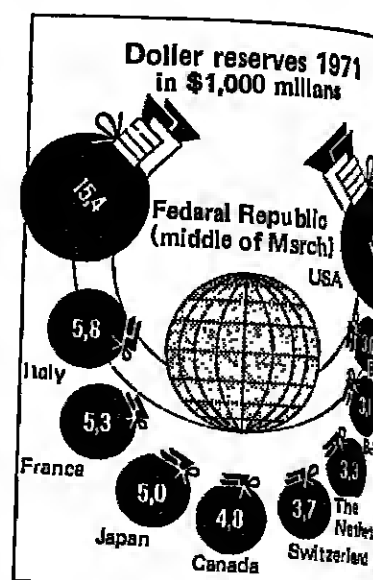
Since daily newspapers put a plea for a third revaluation in the mouth of the former Bundesbank President Kai Blesing (something he only really mentioned on the periphery of a number of suggestions of courses of action as a vague possibility) there has been a great deal of speculation on the Mark, which automatically involved investors in swinging away from the dollar.

At normal times differing interest rates work their rather obvious effect on the flow of money. But the present economic scene is, judging by past experiences, anything but normal. The abnormalities that have already shown up have had very little effect on those concerned with the market.

As a result we now find ourselves in the midst of a new tide of inflation. This will remain as long dollar parity is kept at its present rate and as long as the planned high deficits in the American budget fail to push up interest rates in New York, causing the American banks to borrow Eurodollars rather than paying them back.

Then we will be caught in the Americans' deflationary spell, however. The millions of dollars that have already flooded in will still be in the care of the Bundesbank, but the industrialists who have borrowed Marks to finance investments will be in no hurry to pay them back.

When the Americans dictated inflation to us we found it pleasant, but a dictated



deflation could be far more the unpleasant.

At present we still don't know the flight away from the dollar will be too much of a blow to prestige.

But as something has got to be done since the market requires it, it is the aim of the Americans to manoeuvre the Mark, the Yen, the Franc and perhaps other minor currencies into revaluation.

But nobody wants to revalue the Mark and to upvalue the Yen and the Franc since the second one has the problem of the balance of payments excess.

In the first two months of 1971 there has been a balance of payments deficit. In this tug-of-war there is only solution that conforms to the market: temporary suspension of rates of exchange so that supply and demand can determine new parity free interplay. *Walter Wannemacher (DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, 9 April 1971)*

the action we should be taking to protect the stability of our currency.

Now the Bundesbank has 37.7 thousand million dollars to the value of forty thousand million Marks and has become the world's largest dollar creditor it would be desirable to have money it holds in its vaults if it could be used. The loss would be considerable. But this is not the decisive point at issue.

Danials with regard to rates of change do not need to be taken literally, but we should respect the intelligence of those who bring thousands of millions of dollars across the Atlantic and who are realistic enough to know that in the present situation possibilities of a revaluation are slight.

So we must assume that there are motives that cause them to stay away from the dollar at the moment. Apart from this, the fact that the balance of payments is likely to be red again this year will cause a flood of dollars.

The Federal Republic, which used to be an island of stability, is today swamped along with the international money market by the depreciation.

Much must be done if we want to escape from this predicament. We must allow a situation to continue in which people's savings are just eaten up because the rate of inflation is higher than the rate of interest paid.

An autonomous money policy to escape from dollar inflation is not possible within the framework of the European currency union. This is essential that we try to push talks on the matter from the academic phase to an active position of cooperation. *Walter Wannemacher (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 15 April 1971)*

■ LABOUR AFFAIRS

Bayer introduces comprehensive employee training scheme

Hamburg merchants kept up a quaint old custom until the nineteen-twenties: when an apprentice had successfully completed his period of training his seniors would solemnly hand him his bowler hat and cane and pronounce: "Here is your hat and cane, young man - now you are a qualified salesman, sir."

Underneath the surface of this symbolism there lie the static ideas on career training of the good old days: any young man who had completed his apprenticeship had "learned it all." The only way in which he could add to his skills came from chance experiences picked up in the course of his work.

At a time like the present, when, according to Hermann Kahn, Man's knowledge doubles every ten years such a self-satisfaction is deadly.

The requirements for career promotion are shifting more distinctly from the centres of the behind and the elbow to the centres of the mind.

Modern consumer society has raised this criterion for the development of a competitive setup: where incapability for idleness stands in the way of adjustment the career of the individual comes to an end and the rise of the collective follows.

Progressive industrial concerns draw the consequences from recognition of this fact. They neither content themselves with the standardised basic skills that members of their team bring with them from their years of learning, nor rely on the initiative of their workers alone to keep themselves up to date with the latest tricks of their trade and pave their own way for promotion.

Modern firms are far more concerned to take over the responsibility of providing further training for their staff. Sometimes they do this with gentle persuasion and, where necessary, encourage members of their staff to take further training. This applies to the skilled worker as much as the member of the board of directors.

In a brochure issued by the Bayer chemicals company in Leverkusen it states: "At Bayer it is an essential part of company policy on further training for members of the staff that all workers should be given every opportunity to develop their faculties and their working skills and to strengthen their intellect, character and expert talents."

Although this company policy does mention development of the personality it is mainly designed to bolster those talents that Bayer workers need for their careers. As Herr Richter from Bayer's personnel department responsible for further training said, programmes of advanced training are "organised by and for the company and its best interests."

Several years ago Bayer began to streamline and rationalise the programme of further training in career skills that had been recognised as essential. Basically their system involves complementary factors: practical on-the-job training at the place of work and progressive further training within the framework of courses, seminars, work-study groups, lectures and discussions and to a certain extent as a result of self-organised study. Such a system as this cannot possibly dispense with the personal initiative of the individual worker.

As far as the individual is concerned the need for further training arises from the different and greater demands made on the firm and into his department he must be instructed in the potential of the computer he will be working with. If he is switched from one department

to another (horizontal mobility) or if he achieves promotion (vertical mobility) he must be prepared for his new working conditions.

Special training of this kind can also be of value in solving the problems of the moment or improving the flow of information within the company.

The Bayer further training scheme is organised into several different groups. There are work-study groups for new employees to learn the lines along which the company works and for general information of older workers; then there are courses of expert study for members of staff with a background of natural sciences, craftsman training, technical studies or sales management; also courses to prepare workers for a new position at a higher level (sometimes involving a final examination that is recognised by the State) and management training for executives and managerial staff.

The committee of Bayer as a whole went in for the Bod Harzburg programme of management training methods. Participation in courses of this kind generally speaking takes place during working hours and at the company's expense.

In order to make its training programmes as appropriate as possible Bayer has embarked on a scheme to analyse the demands made on the individual worker by the line of work in which he is involved. The aim of this investigation is to set up a schematised plan of the demands made on the individual employee. With the help of this anyone applying for such a job will not just be given a course of training to help him carry out the job, but will have a programme of training "tailor-made" to his requirements and the requirements of the position to which he aspires.

For instance a member of staff changing from a position inside the firm to a representative job outside Bayer's pro-

duces needs specialised knowledge about company production and certain spheres of national economics and company economics and also company law. He must be a past master at handling negotiations, rhetoric and the jargon of the group and must have a keen eye for reading documents. He will also be required to hold his own on reading the state of the market and have a knowledge of marketing and advertising techniques.

At Bayer two sectors have put this new scheme into operation steadily: sales officials and sales-group leaders. Gradually all sectors will have these checks of demands on the individual drawn up for them.

This is a mammoth task for a firm employing 60,000 people and whose staff ranges from the tea boy to senior academics, a highly heterogeneous setup all told. There is a choice of fifty apprenticeships that can be taken with the firm in careers ranging from chemicals expertise to draughtswoman.

In all Bayer organised 681 further education courses last year involving 17,570 people. As well as the courses that have already been mentioned there were 102 language courses in English, French, Spanish and Russian.

Generally speaking Bayer keeps its further training scheme within the confines of the company when this is economically feasible. In some cases lecturers from outside the company are commissioned and in isolated cases Bayer employees are sent outside the firm to special courses and other events.

In such cases the participant is obliged to show that he has benefited from the course by handing in a written report. By means of these written reports on the advantages of these outside courses the company has been able to compile files on the courses offered and compare their various merits.

AEG-Telefunken's successful staff promotion scheme

branch there were 6,700 and 8,000 worked in administration.

According to the staffing policies at AEG-Telefunken there must be a constant stream of young engineers with university or technical college training coming into the company on the technical side to replace older workers.

In 1970 for example AEG's technical division took on 430 new members of the engineering staff with diplomas and 850 with technical school education. This amounted to 3.4 per cent of the approximately 37,300 people on the AEG-Telefunken payroll.

Those engineers who are more particularly interested in the research and development side of the firm are first of all made familiar with the laboratories attached to the various departments before special duties are assigned to them.

The other engineers who are more inclined towards practical activities within the company are given a year's special training in which they absorb information on how the company is run so that they get to know the work of the various departments within AEG-Telefunken.

Thereafter they can come to an agreement with the departmental heads of the firm on which course their career in the firm should follow.

Needless to say not only are the courses considered critically, but also those who take them. This is generally done by means of the course organiser's report since most of the courses do not involve a final examination.

By this means the company builds up an exact picture of the capabilities, talents, shortcomings and potential of each member of staff over a period of time.

Further training and evaluation of employees makes it possible to push them to the limits of their abilities and get the best from them that they have to give. This gives the company the maximum protection against promoting an employee to a position for which he is completely incompetent.

Needless to say these schemes are far from cheap. The further education department at Bayer costs about one million Marks to run. However, Bayer is not prepared to divulge exact figures. In addition to the direct cost of the courses there is the indirect expense of paying the employees while they are not engaged on profitable work.

On the credit side the courses of further training do mean that the general level of skilled workers in the company rises, making Bayer a company run and staffed by experts.

Nor should the goodwill involved be underestimated. Psychologically it is a good thing for the workers to feel that the company is taking care of them and making the best use of their talents. This leads to greater company loyalty.

Probably the writers of a brochure advertising for young new staff members had a similar idea in mind. *Die Welt von Robinson 2000* is the title of this brochure, a world with a great future in a growing industry.

The major company offers the school-leaver with ambitions basic training in a number of walks of life, a comprehensive programme of further training and consequently better and better opportunities for rapid promotion based on a secure position in society from the cradle of his working life to the grave.

But the world of Robinson in the year 2000 will be a world of teamwork. There will be little room for the individualist.

Volker Schröder (Handelsblatt, 6 April 1971)

Experience in the past has shown that by far the greater part of those engineers who decide to work in departments other than research and development have a *Fachschule* background.

On the sales side, according to Herr Mössner, there is normally a three-year training period. But last year special provisions were set up for those new members of staff who had completed their *Abitur* (higher school-leaving certificate).

For them the actual years of apprenticeship are cut to two, after which time they take one year of special training designed to school them in special studies such as financing, business management or personnel management.

With regard to the employment and training of staff with an academic background for the sales side AEG-Telefunken has the tendency to prefer the specialist, for example in departments such as accountancy.

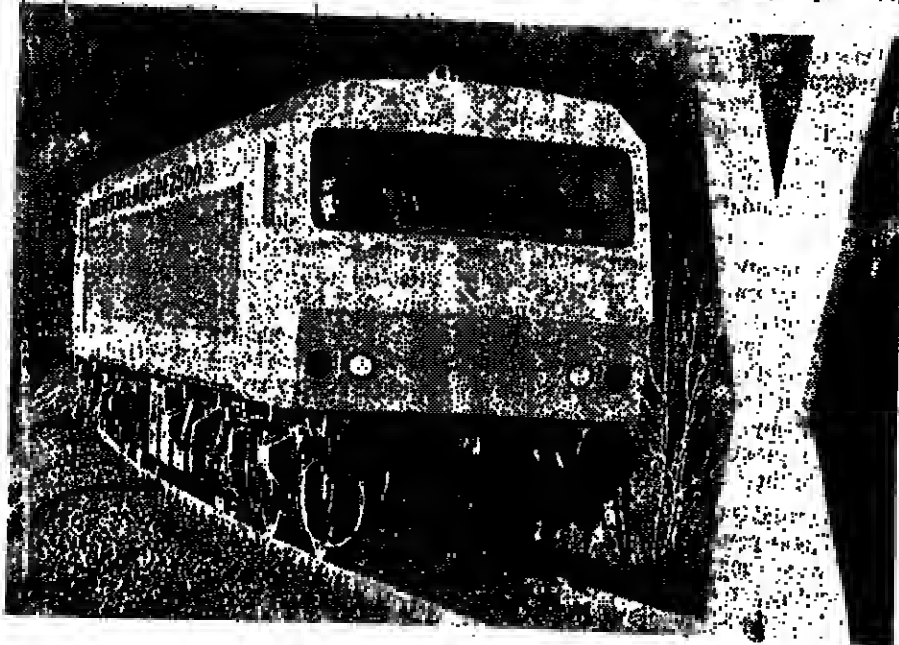
In other branches, such as mains generator technology, men with training in business management or engineers with economic training have a good starting position.

The overall further training scheme is based on a tightly-knit system of specialised training for personnel in which all members of the management and senior managerial staff can and should take part.

This further training and specialised training plays a major role in the company particularly in the technical sector. In this sphere it has to be reckoned that

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In Disseldorf a dog licence costs 50 Marks per annum. In Bavaria, where the dog licence is only 30 Marks per year for each dog, more dogs are kept as pets in Munich than in any other large city in this country. Officialdom is loathe to

Grzimek to stay

(Photo: Archiv/dnru)

Cats lose their hold

Among rodents Asian squirrels and brown squirrels have turned out to be popular. Pet shop owners are incapable of satisfying the demand. These creatures are also easy to look after and they are also not liable to taxes.

The third year is

The computer can also be programmed to cater for days on which the users do not wish to take the Pill.

Grass growth

The manufacturers are expecting authorities to join the ranks of customers so as to save money spent regularly mowing lawns in public parks and green spaces.

Mr Spare Time

Schlapp Schlapp's advice is not to waste spare time but to get something done instead. He has a hundred suggestions for something to do in a brief moment available free of charge from the Information Centre in Cologne.

Money need

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 7 April 1971)

Federal League football could well take a leaf out of England's book

"I reckon a man of the calibre of Bill Shankly of Liverpool would do well in this country but it is very hard to convert from one system to the other. Take Bert Treutmann, for instance.

"In Münster and Rüsselsheim he tried to adopt English training methods (and who better to do the job than Treutmann

One woman in two is keen on sport

An unexpectedly large number of women appear to be interested in taam

Tickets cost between two and twelve Marks, which is a good deal less than the prices charged in this country. English clubs, of course, have a less expensive

(Photo: Nordbild)

On the other hand an English club would never think of asking the local authority for assistance. Football is a business, and a tough one. "Many Federal league players would not stand an earthly on the other side of the Channel," Bachmann reckons.

International soccer dates

An encounter with Switzerland in this country on 29 April 1972 has been agreed. The last of 38 matches so far between the two countries took place on 17 April 1968 in Basle and was also a goalless draw.

Bulgaria has accepted a DFB invitation to play this country on 12 May 1973. At the same time Bulgaria agreed to a fixture between its Olympic team and this country's in this country on 7 September next. (THE WELT, 12 April 1973)

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